

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CANADA

FROM A

UNITED STATES POINT OF VIEW.

SPEECH OF ERASTUS WIMAN

BEFORE THE COMMERCIAL BODIES OF DETROIT AND BUFFALO,
AUGUST 27 AND 30, 1887.

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NEW YORK:

ERASTUS WIMAN, 311 BROADWAY.

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"I recommend that, keeping in view all these considerations, the increasing and unnecessary surplus of national income annually accumulated be released to the people by an amendment to our revenue laws, which shall cheapen the price of necessities of life and give freer entrance to such raw materials as by American labor may be manufactured into marketable commodities."—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

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MR. WIMAN said that Commercial Union between the United States and Canada meant that the two countries should be commercially united. It meant that, so far as trade was concerned, the whole continent of North America should be one country, with no dividing line to check the ebb and flow of commerce. That, like the mingling of the waters in the great rivers and lakes between the two countries, the commercial interests of the English speaking nations of the North American continent should be so blended that the mutual advantage would be equal to that which now makes it profitable for one State to deal with another State; and, giving all that each can give in the shape of advantage, no more can be demanded of each other. At present a customs line, 4,000 miles in length, shuts out the products and manufactures of each country from the other, except on the payment of a high rate of duty. This customs line was like a barbed wire fence, 4,000 miles long, over which one brother could not legally trade with another brother, for even a bushel of potatoes, without the intervention of the government. Inasmuch as the amount of goods and merchandise interchanged between the two countries annually was almost equal, and as the duties paid by one people were only slightly less or more than that paid by the other, this customs charge operated very much as a license. As there would be no trade whatever, unless the people on both sides of the border found it to their advantage, a license to permit them to trade seems like an exaction, which, in ancient days, might have been demanded by the government for trading privileges, but which in free America and among freemen seems at this late date to be sadly out of place. It was sadly out of place when it was considered that the conditions prevailing in the two countries were almost precisely alike; that in climate, in products, in pursuits, and in prospects for the future, there was as little difference between the United States and Canada as there was between New York and Michigan. If Canada possessed any marked advantage over the United States, it might

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be necessary to protect the latter by putting up a wall of exactions to make the conditions equal, and thus give the United States a fair chance. But where there is no possible or visible advantage which one country possesses over the other, and where both must and will trade for mutual advantage, despite all barriers, the existence of these barriers is unjustifiable, and when absolutely unnecessary for raising revenue, should be entirely swept away. So far as trade and commerce are concerned, there would have been the same justification to have kept Michigan out of the Union as there is now for keeping out the trade and commerce of Canada. The prosperity of the United States has had enormous contributions from the rich and varied products of Michigan, and from the vast trade which their development has created. Sinking out of sight the political difference in the two countries, the products and trade of Canada will, in even greater measure, contribute to the prosperity, the wealth and progress of the United States, if with the same rapidity they are developed, and there is no impediment to their free flow in the direction which they would naturally seek. That the United States would become the Mecca to which turns the trade of the entire continent no one for a moment doubts; and that she would be enormously benefitted by opening up to her energy and enterprise the vast treasures of the best part of the continent is as plain as that there is a sun in the heavens.

CANADA COMMERCIALLY INDEPENDENT.

But it may well be asked how can a union commercially with Canada be accomplished, and yet Canada remain as she is, a part and parcel of the British Empire. The answer to that question is, that as far as commercial regulations are concerned, Canada is to day no more a part of the British Empire than is New York or Massachusetts. Long ago, commercially speaking, Canada became independent, and by exacting the same duties on every dollars worth of English goods as she has exacted on the goods of the United States, Germany, or other countries, she separated herself commercially, so to speak, from Great Britain as completely as did the American colonies who declared their independence in 1776. Having thus obtained the power to tax all importations, whether British or otherwise, of course she possessed the power to regulate her own expenditures. On the principle that he who pays the taxes has the best right to dispose of them, Canada has for many years made just such disposition as she chose of all her revenues, never for a moment considering the English government or the English people in the matter. She has had within her own power the regulation of her own modes or forms of taxation. She can to-day if she chooses put up a tariff, put it down, increase her internal revenue tax, inaugurate a system of direct taxation, or, in any way she prefers, procure from her people the revenues necessary for the payment of the expenses of their government, and provision for the fixed charges arising out of her debt. By a uniform tariff against all nations, she has shown her real and complete commercial independence, and under this condition has made a progress and attained a position of which every Canadian has good reason to be proud.

The question now is, having completely and entirely separated herself so far as commercial ties are concerned from the mother land, is she now competent to seek a union in the same commercial way with her neighboring nation? Is there anything violent in the proposition in a commercial sense, that having attained a freedom of action which enables her to regulate her own affairs for her own exclusive benefit, she should now cast about for new commercial alliances, whereby these benefits could be vastly augmented; and by the same action benefitting the nation with whom she proposes to form a business partnership? With these conditions existing there has dawned upon the minds of many Canadians the hope that a commercial alliance on equal terms could be made with the United States whereby a new era might open up for the future of that great country. When, therefore, the matter assumed something of a definite shape, which it did in the Bill which was introduced into the last Congress by the Hon. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH, providing for a practical Commercial Union between the two countries, the whole question came before the Canadian public in its most attractive form. The hope has dawned upon them that by this Bill, or other appropriate and uniform legislation by Congress on one side, and by the Canadian Parliament on the other, that the barriers between the two great countries may be removed, and as perfect an inter-communication created between the United States and Canada as now exists between all the States of the Union on the one hand and all the Provinces of the Dominion on the other. The possibilities arising out of such a consummation are of the most comprehensive character, and whether contemplated from a United States point of view, or from a Canadian standpoint, the question possesses an interest of a greater importance than almost any other subject now before the public on either side of the border.

A UNIFORM NORTH AMERICAN TARIFF.

A Commercial Union between the United States and Canada under the terms of the Bill introduced by MR. BUTTERWORTH, it is believed, can be safely inaugurated by the adoption by Canada of a tariff uniform with that of the United States; in other words, that as against all the rest of the world, the same rates of duty should be collected by Canada as are now levied by the United States, while between the two countries of North America the customs wall should be completely obliterated. This proposition would imply that goods imported from England, or the outside world, into Halifax, St. John, Montreal, or Toronto, or anywhere else in the Dominion, should pay precisely the same rates of duty as if imported at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, or elsewhere in the United States. Further, that not only would the duties on foreign goods imported into any part of North America be precisely the same, but that no duties whatever would be levied on American goods imported into Canada, nor none whatever on Canadian goods imported into the United States. The result of this proposition would be that as around the whole continent of North America a customs line would exist of precisely uniform height, while within the continent itself, trade would ebb and flow as freely as mingle the drops of

water in the lakes and rivers covering this vast area. Is not the conception one worthy of your highest thoughts? Does not the prospect of such a consummation thrill with enthusiasm the lover of his country, no matter on which side of the line he is born. For in the prospect that is thus opened, not only does Canada find her hope of growth, of expansion and future greatness, vastly augmented, but the true patriot in the United States will see that in the vast continent of North America, the greater portion of which is now inaccessible, there are the potentialities to him and his children of individual wealth beyond the confines of his own land, and the possibilities of contributions to the greatness of his own country greater than are visible from any other point of the compass. When one recalls the five thousand miles of coast line fishing privileges possessed by Canada; the limitless forests of timber greatly needed by the United States; the exhaustless hills of iron ore, the copper, nickel and other minerals; the mountains of phosphates, the miles and miles of coal in close proximity to Eastern manufacturing centres and Western needs; the infinite variety of riches which God in His providence has placed in these regions for the good of all mankind; and when one recalls that for the most part these are lying silent, dormant and dead, it needs only to turn and look into the earnest faces of the great nation on the borders of Canada to realize that the Good Providence has also provided a people whose high mission it is to take these vast riches and most gratefully enjoy His bounty. The truest and highest patriotism on both sides of the border is to pursue that policy which will to the greatest extent benefit each country; and in all the range of human circumstances it is impossible to conceive of an event of greater significance, to be followed by consequences more beneficent, than the opening up of the vast stores of wealth in the Northern Continent, and the freest commercial intercourse between all portions of this, heaven's last best gift to mankind. One cannot resist constantly quoting those seer-like words of Emerson, when he said:—"We live in a new and exceptional age. America is a new name for opportunity. Its whole history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race." It remains with the people to whom these words were uttered, and whose good fortune it is to live in this age and in this America, to say whether they will content themselves with one half of what God has provided for their benefit; whether antiquated and utterly unnecessary forms of taxation shall be permitted longer to erect such barriers, such a dividing line between the inhabitants of this great continent that its riches may be only partially conferred, and that the effort of Divine intention shall remain to be defeated by the selfishness, or the stupidity of man.

TIME AND CIRCUMSTANCE FAVORABLE.

In the history of all nations a time comes and circumstances occur which, as in the career of men themselves, are full of the possibilities of the future. The time and the circumstance were never so favorable as now for the extension to large areas of the trade of the United States on the one hand, and enormous natural development by Canada on the other. Never before

in the history of the two English-speaking nations, occupying so large a portion of the earth's surface, was there a period quite so advantageous as now for the removal of all hindrances to their freest intercourse; and it is almost inconceivable that ever hereafter will the circumstances of the two countries be more favorable than at present for a union based upon an equitable commercial foundation. Indeed, there is urgent need for some such broad policy of statesmanship as will forever settle the friction that periodically arises between the two countries in the fishery question and other local issues; and by creating such a union of interests between the two countries as will practically and commercially make one a part of the other, forever remove all possibilities of conflict, and all possible grounds of difference. Side by side, for four thousand miles, these two nations lay like great giants, with lessened intercourse one with each other, jealous of each other's rights, and sensitive to encroachment on each other's privileges. Down in the broad Gulf of St. Lawrence in the extreme East, within the past month, the navies of the two nations were arrayed in friendly but constrained relations. In the far West, in the Behring Straits, the gun-boats of the same two powers watch each other with sedulous care. In the long stretches between these two distant points there are elements at work in various forms that might readily disturb the peace of the two nations. No calamity could occur of consequences so vastly injurious to the good of mankind as a conflict between England and the United States. There is none probable—it may be hoped there is none possible—but no one will deny that if a complete commercial union existed on this continent, danger of this kind would be greatly lessened, if not entirely removed. The navigation laws and the fishery privileges would be uniform and universal. The markets of both countries being open to each other, the products of both lands being available for both nations, such a close alliance in pursuits and common advantage would exist as to make it utterly out of the question any real difference could ever hereafter arise.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

It may still be asked, how could a uniform tariff be enforced by Canada and the United States while Canada belongs to Great Britain, in that it would be impossible to exact a heavy tax upon English goods entering into one of her own colonies while admitting free of taxes the goods of the United States, which is practically a foreign country. It must be admitted that, stated in its baldest form, this proposition to discriminate against Great Britain and in favor of the United States, by a British colony, seems difficult to reconcile with the notions that prevail in the United States as to the relations existing between Great Britain and her colonies. There is always a tendency to regard these relations as those which were so violently disrupted by the American Revolution; but since that date, owing to the influences then set in motion, a great change has taken place, and it may be said as a result of those influences that while Canada to-day nominally belongs to England, she in reality belongs much more to herself. It may be repeated, and with emphasis, that Canada possesses a commercial

independence, in a form so distinctive, that while the world at large understands she is a part and parcel of the British Empire, she is in all that relates to trade her own mistress, and commercially belongs to herself. The whole tendency for the last fifty years, since the memorable events in 1837, has been in this direction, and especially from the date of the Confederation of the Provinces, which was hailed by the British authorities as the establishment of a new nationality. Through all the Parliaments in which the machinery of taxation has been assiduously employed, down to this very year, the constant result has been to evince a commercial independence; to tax heavily goods imported from Britain as well as from all other countries, and to keep as separate as possible the distinctive policy that animated the two governments. Thus, while it is the glory of the British Government that the greatest freedom of trade should prevail, not only throughout her own empire, and throughout her own colonies, but throughout the whole world, the Canadian Government has been animated by a policy precisely the opposite, and has built up a wall of tariff so high that English goods have in many instances been entirely excluded. So far, therefore, as sentiment has gone, as between the mother and the daughter in matters of trade, not the slightest heed has of late years been paid to it by the Government of the people of Canada. This is all the more significant because this policy has been inaugurated and most energetically promoted by the political party that claimed exclusive possession of almost all the loyalty in the country, —the Conservative or Tory party, who have been loudest in their declarations of attachment to British connection, and their love for British institutions. Under such circumstances the proposition does not seem so revolutionary as at first sight appears, to go a step further and add, say, ten per cent. to the existing tariff, and thus equalize it to that of the American standard. Indeed, only at the last session of Parliament, within the present year, the tariff on iron goods was so far advanced that the rates now levied are practically as high as those prevailing in the United States, discriminating, practically, most adversely to English manufactures. It needs only a few further touches from the Finance Minister, which are certain to come in time, to make the whole list of custom duties uniform with those of the United States.

CANADA CAN TALK FOR HERSELF.

It having been thus shown that Canada has perfect commercial independence; that she has deliberately adopted a trade policy diametrically opposed to that of Great Britain, and without regard to the interests of British manufacturers, it is not going much further for her to say to the United States: "I have great stores of products that you greatly need. You are my next door neighbor, and your markets are absolutely necessary for the development of these products. I need the capital and enterprise of your people to do as much for me as you have done for Michigan and other commonwealths. I will agree to tax all the outside world as high as you do, and admit all that you have to offer me free, if you will admit all that I have to offer you on the same terms." It is true that this would be a

discrimination against English goods, and in favor of American goods. It is true that at first blush it seems unfair that after all England has done for Canada, that Canada should turn around and thus tax English goods. But that is just what she has been doing for years, and yet the tie between Great Britain and Canada is just as strong and just as potent in its political connection as it ever was. But it is going too far, some in Canada will say, to admit American goods free, while continuing to tax British goods. It will be argued that Canada has no right, either legally or morally, to charge England more for the privilege of admitting her goods, and charge less or nothing whatever for admitting goods from the United States. The answer to this is found in the fact that this policy has already been in operation for years, and that so far as right is concerned, both legal and moral, it has been fully and freely used. This is shown in the statistics for 1886. In that year English goods were brought into Canada to the extent of \$40,601,000. These paid a duty of \$7,817,000, or equal to nineteen and a quarter cents on the dollar. During the same period goods from the United States were imported, amounting to \$44,868,000, paying duties thereon of only \$6,790,000, or slightly above fifteen cents on the dollar. Not only were the goods imported from the United States over those from Great Britain, four millions in excess, but the rate of duty exacted absolutely averaged four per cent. less. The Dominion, in 1886, imported of free goods from England, \$10,215,000, while from the United States the free goods brought in were \$15,198,000. These figures go to show that the existing tariff, while it appears as uniform against all countries, nevertheless is a practical discrimination in favor of the United States.

DIPLOMACY UNNECESSARY.

The speaker said he must apologize to his American friends for having devoted so much time to the condition of affairs in Canada, and too little to the advantages which commercial union would bring to the United States, the latter of which he would deal with later on. But it was important that the misconception which existed in the United States in regard to the condition of Canada should be removed, and that it should be clearly understood that within herself Canada possessed all the rights and all the powers necessary to enter into a commercial partnership with the United States. That no treaty, no diplomacy, no weary waiting for the Colonial or Foreign Office to move, was necessary to consummate such an arrangement with the United States, was a matter of surprise. But such was the real condition of affairs that Parliament, by appropriate legislation with Congress, could effect all that was necessary to remove all barriers between the two great English-speaking nations of the North American Continent. Ordinarily, the acts of the Canadian Parliament were not submitted to the home government for approval, but should a tariff measure such as has been described pass, the Governor-General, would, in view of the importance of the measure, no doubt feel it incumbent upon him to send it to the Imperial authorities for consideration. There have been one or two rare occasions since Confederation when, from a difference of views, measures passed by the Cana-

Can Parliament have been sent back, or, in other words, disallowed. But there need be no fear that disallowance by the English Government would be the fate in store for a measure which would so manifestly benefit Canada as that creating a commercial alliance between five millions of her own people on one side, and sixty millions of English speaking people of the United States on the other. It might be that there would be reluctance in yielding to such a demand in view of the discrimination against English goods, and the few hundred English manufacturers interested would no doubt earnestly protest, but as it could be shown that the measure was of incalculable benefit to Canada and all her people, there would be no lack of heartiness in the eventual consent of the British authorities. If it could be understood that even the English manufacturers would in the end be benefitted by the increased power to buy and pay for goods they have to sell; if it could be shown that as a result of the unification of the two tariffs of North America, that of Canada had been advanced five per cent., affecting only five millions of people, while a corresponding reduction had taken place on the tariff of the United States, affecting sixty millions of people, the advantage would be so manifest as to disarm hostility to the movement. If, further, it could be realized that the enormous amount of English capital which is now invested in Canada, would have a greatly improved chance of some day being repaid, and meantime of yielding an adequate return, there would be no difficulty in making clear the duty of the English authorities.

But if, above all, it could be equally and clearly shown that a vast majority of Canadians themselves were strongly and determinedly in favor of a closer alliance with their neighbors in the United States (as it could most assuredly be shown), while at the same time sincerely desirous of retaining British connection, the advisers of Her Majesty would be too sagacious, too astute, to refuse consent to a measure fraught with benefit so immeasurable to the people most closely concerned. To refuse such a boon would be like refusing the greatest good to the greatest number, and would be affording a justification for another schism in the Anglo-Saxon race of far greater import than that which justified the Revolution on this side of the Atlantic in 1776. No one need fear that, so far as Canada is concerned, her people are not eager for the closest alliance with the United States consistent with British connection. If a vote were polled even to-day—and the question as a practical scheme is only nine months old—it is believed that a majority of two to one could be secured in behalf of this movement. Under such circumstances it is idle to believe that the Imperial authorities would, so long as British connection was maintained, risk anything by withholding consent from measures that would most certainly benefit the people of Canada.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Having thus described conditions prevailing in Canada, the speaker now directed attention to the advantages which the United States would derive from the creation of a commercial union with Canada. Perhaps never before

in the history of the world was presented an opportunity so great as that which now presented itself to the United States, for the extension of its trade and commerce. Without the drawing of a sword, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, or the cost of a single dollar, the area can be doubled over which the trade and commerce of the United States can be freely extended. Vast as are the stretches over which the business of this country now extends, a commercial union with Canada more than doubles the area in which a profitable development and a profitable trade can be prosecuted. In respect to extension of the boundaries of commerce, the fiftieth Congress possesses a greater opportunity than any other legislative body in the history of the world possessed. It cost the United States six thousand millions of dollars, and five hundred thousand lives, to keep within her borders the seceding Southern States. No one now regrets that vast expenditure, or those sacrifices, because, aside from all sentiment, all necessity of self-preservation, the investment is deemed a good one because of the great advantages which result from the possession of the South as a field for business, as a field for commerce, and as a source of development. But those who have studied closely the value of the two regions contributory to the greatness and future of the United States will testify that free trade over the Northern continent is of even greater value than over the region covered by the proposed Southern Confederacy.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

Suppose, for an instant, that the Declaration of Independence instead of stopping short south of the St. Lawrence and of the great lakes, had included the whole continent of North America, what would be the sentiment evoked if, at this late date, it was seriously discussed that the vast region to the north of this line should secede from the Union and become as completely isolated as it now is? We can judge of the feeling which such a proposition would produce by the intensity of the struggle which maintained the Southern States within the Union. Indeed, the parallel falls short, for had the whole of North America been included within the United States one hundred years ago, such a development would have taken place north of the present line that to propose a separation, and produce an isolation such as at present exists, would be regarded as a loss in wealth so stupendous, and in vital forces so disastrous, that the death-knell of the Union would be sounded, and the experiment of free government by commonwealths would disappear from the earth. For, not only is the country to the north of the United States a great deal larger than the United States themselves, but it possesses an infinitude of riches almost beyond belief. If the same process of development, in the same parallel of latitude in the United States, had occurred in Canada, if the same advantages of unrestricted trade between the States had been conferred upon her, these regions would have made a progress, in the last one hundred years, so great that to propose their separation now, had they been part and parcel of the Union, would be equal to proposing a separation of the whole New England

States, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio combined. To contemplate the Union without these great commonwealths, and then consider what would be the result if Canada had been included in the Union and now desired to withdraw, would be to contemplate a disaster and a loss almost beyond conception. It is by such a measurement as this that the importance of the question of commercial union in North America only can be estimated. If such stupendous consequences would have resulted from the withdrawal of these regions from the United States, had they ever been included within the country, what are the consequences likely to follow if, at this late date, an arrangement is reached whereby the better half of the whole continent is rendered just as freely available now, and for all time, as if it had been part and parcel of the Union? What may not follow, if, with the gathered energy of this great people, having partially conquered the forces which nature, in her most generous mood, has placed within her own border, they should now turn to the north and west from these regions the untold treasures that lay hidden there. A practical question, therefore, is: does not the opportunity now present itself whereby the United States can, after a lapse of a hundred years, make such a bargain as will give her all the advantages that she would have gained had she originally included the whole continent, instead of the half of it, within her borders? If it can be proved that, by an arrangement between the two countries, such an advantage is offered, need there be any question about accepting it?

A COMMERCIAL INSTEAD OF POLITICAL UNION.

It may well be said that it is only by a union of interests perfectly balanced one with the other, that such a result could now be achieved as that which could have been attained, had a political union heretofore existed, or, to put it in another way, that without a political union no result so advantageous can now follow to either country. Let us see if this be so. Is it not possible now, under existing circumstances, that by a union founded purely upon a commercial basis, such results would follow as would approach those that would flow from a political union? What is there in a political alliance with Canada, so far as commercial advantage is concerned, which would not now be possessed by this country if the relation existing between the two countries was that of a purely business partnership? Do not men with different religious belief join each other in business pursuits, and achieve fortunes? Do not communities widely different in race, religion, and even color, trade freely and with profit? Suppose that so far as trade and commerce are concerned every barrier were broken down, and that the interchange of commodities between the United States and Canada was just as free and unrestricted as it is now between the States of the Union, would not the profit on that trade be just as acceptable and just as advantageous as the profits on the trade between States themselves? If the manufacturer of agricultural implements in Ohio, or elsewhere, could sell the product, of his establishment in Manitoba, and throughout the Canadian Northwestern territories, without let or hindrance,

Is he not benefited to an extent just as great as if he sold his wares to the farmer of Minnesota or Dakota? If the boots and shoes, which are made at Haverhill or Rochester, or the collars and cuffs that are made at Troy, yield as good a return to the manufacturer, it matters not to him whether they are worn by a Tory or Liberal in Ontario, or by a Democrat or Republican in Michigan. Trade knows no political boundaries, and in this age it is trade that we are all after. The trade of Great Britain has been an extremely profitable one, but it has not been confined by any means to nations with which she has been politically connected. The kind of union which to-day can make the United States and Canada one is a commercial union, a union which knows no barriers, so far as commerce is concerned, a union in which freedom in its highest form prevails, freedom in transactions one man with another on the broad continent of North America, the vast products of which are the rightful heritage of all who occupy any portion of it. But it may well be asked, how is it possible to provide for an alliance so close that both countries may so greatly benefit, and yet be politically separated? Is it not possible that Ohio and Ontario may interchange each other's products to great mutual advantage, and be as closely intimate in commercial matters as Ohio and Pennsylvania, and yet be politically different and under different forms of government. Some will ask how it is possible that the republican form of government in Ohio can assimilate so closely with the monarchical form of government in Ontario, that the closest commercial relations may exist? The reply is that forms of government have nothing whatever to do with the quality of the iron which Canada possesses up the Valley of the Trent, and which she is very anxious should be sent to Cleveland to be smelted and marketed for her. The coal which Ontario wants, and wants badly from Pennsylvania, possesses no greater advantage because it was mined under a republic and is to be consumed under a monarchy. So with everything else. The same profit that comes with the vast internal trade between the States would come with trade between the States and Canada, if all the barriers between the two countries were removed. Suppose that Canada really sought for admission to the Union, which she is not doing and is not likely to do, the chief advantage which would come to her, would be that which would result from an open market among sixty millions of people for her products. The advantage which the United States would gain by this admission of Canada into the nation, and dividing her territory into half a dozen great States, would be that her vast stores of raw products would be made freely accessible, and so available that her own people could go in and possess themselves of these riches. Now it is claimed that under commercial union this would follow just as freely, and just as completely, as it would under political union. It can be successfully maintained that by a uniform tariff against all the rest of the world, and complete and unrestricted intercourse throughout the continent of North America, all the vast riches that North America possesses are available to all the inhabitants thereof, no matter where they may be.

A UNION ALREADY ILLUSTRATED.

In a limited degree the theory of commercial union is already illustrated notwithstanding the barriers, tariffs, customs regulations, and all the governmental contrivances to retard the freedom of intercourse. This illustration of the possibilities of commercial union is found in the enormous emigration to the United States which has taken place from Canada—a contribution to the population of this country of the greatest value to her progress and stability. In the numerous manufacturing centres of the New England States, by far the largest single element are the French Canadians, whose frugality, industry, economy, contentment, and above all, whose fecundity, are rapidly enabling them to possess a potent influence in the industrial pursuits of important sections of the country. Not only in the East are Canadians numerous, but in the West their good qualities are apparent, and their influence in the progress of the newer sections of the Northwest, in railroad and other developments, their growth and influence are more distinctively marked than that of any other foreign element. This is because of their ready adaptability, their innate intelligence, and reliability. It is an interesting economic fact in connection with the two great American nations occupying this Continent, that out of five and a half millions of Canadians known to exist, fully one million are now resident in the United States. Of late years the increase of immigration from Canada bears a larger proportion to those left at home than from any other country contributing to the population of the United States. That so large an exodus should occur from a country with such equality in conditions, with such similarity in climate, pursuits and products, is most significant testimony to the advantages possessed by the United States in unrestricted intercourse which exists between her several commonwealths, and to the superior opportunities for development which this affords. To extend these advantages to the rest of the Continent is the desire of the commercial unionist, and that this extension would benefit and enrich the people of the United States is his hope and belief. The presence of so large a body of Canadians here is an illustration of the benefits of a commercial intercourse, which needs only the widest expansion to beget the largest benefit. No one for a moment will deny that this million of population are not only benefitting themselves, and the people whom they have left behind, by the steady stream of remittances sent them, but that they are also benefitting the United States in a marked degree. Who will estimate just the results that flow to this country from the industry and intelligent energy which this million of Northern born Americans possess and exercise? Who may calculate what contributions to wealth, to progress, and especially to population, may not be made by the sturdy efforts of this vigorous race from the North, who in such large proportion to their own numbers are afforded an unstinted welcome here? If then it is admitted that even by restricted intercourse a million of people whom Canada, rich as she is, can ill afford to spare, what would be the consequence if five millions of American population went into Canada? It is no extraordinary supposition that this would occur in the next twenty-

five years, if with unrestricted intercourse the richest country in the world in natural resource was opened up freely to American capital and American enterprise; what estimate could be placed on the result, with all America for a market? The only thing that has hitherto retarded Canada has been the restricted market which the financial policy of the two Governments have afforded her; but if once the barriers between the two countries were obliterated, her progress and the growth of her trade would be simply enormous. That Americans can as well take advantage of that progress, as well participate in that trade, no one doubts; for if a million Canadians can thrive and prosper here, why could not a proportionate number of Americans thrive and prosper in Canada, with her virgin soil, boundless forests of timber, enormous deposits of minerals, a limitless coast line of fisheries, and a perfect treasure house of just such things as this country needs. Canada to the United States is an Eldorado, the extent of whose riches have never yet been dreamed of, and whose accessibility to American skill and American capital needs only the magic touch of freedom from commercial restraint which now renders it unavailable.

COMMERCIAL UNION WITH CALIFORNIA AND ALASKA.

The discovery and development of California, distant and difficult of access though it was, had an enormous influence upon the United States. Yet politically she never materially influenced the policy or internal affairs of the rest of the country. Her trade has yielded to the East large returns; her products have enriched the world. So it would be with Canada, and the effect upon the United States of a commercial union with her would be just as perfect as the commercial union between New York and California. Canada is a far richer country than California; in the variety of her products exactly suiting the wants of the Eastern States, and above all in her contiguity, she possesses advantages over any addition made to the United States in the last quarter of a century. If her resources, if her products, her possibilities, are within easy hail and easy acquirement by a commercial bargain, why should they not be made just as available as those of California? Again, the United States acquired for \$7,500,000 the extreme northern region of Alaska. Did any one suppose that politically it was ever going to have any influence on the destinies of the American people that Alaska should be added to the territorial area of the United States? Yet already her trade is attracting attention. Enormous fortunes have been made out of her products, and to-day, in mineral and other development, her promise is that she will contribute greatly to the wealth and progress of the United States. What difference is there between Alaska and British Columbia, that is not in favor of the latter? In extent, in fertility, in forests, fisheries, minerals, in the finest coal, which California sadly needs, and in the equality of her climate and her general location, she possesses the potentialities of a development far superior to that of Alaska. Why should not the American traders possess themselves of the advantages of British Columbia, its natural riches, and the trade that will follow their certain development

if the same free market is open to them that is now open to distant Alaska ? Only the barriers that the two governments erect by common consent make the obstacle. By common consent let the barriers be obliterated, and by a commercial union between the two countries open up for development the finest country the sun ever shone upon, for a market the most ample, and the most profitable the world has ever seen.

A POLITICAL UNION NOW IMPRACTICABLE.

But it will be said in the United States that a political union between the United States and Canada would be a much greater boon, and that in order to obtain all the advantages of a free American market, a political union is a necessity. This may well be doubted. Indeed, in many respects, commercial union between Canada and the United States is much to be preferred to a political union in the present juncture of affairs. When the political millennium in the United States arrives, which all politicians are after, there will be a period when, if Canada desires to be admitted, it might be done, for then she could come in without entirely upsetting the political status of the whole nation. At present the admission of five millions of people into the Union, whose political tendencies were unknown, would precipitate into politics such an element of uncertainty as to completely baffle the calculations of the most astute politicians. While parties are so evenly balanced that a single speech of an inoffensive Dominie, who loved to indulge in alliteration, is credited with having changed the character of an entire administration, what might not be the consequences when such unknown quantities would be introduced into the contest as the French vote of Quebec, the Orange vote of Ontario, or the Catholic vote of all the provinces. No office-seeking patriot in the United States, no calculating politician, not even the mild-mannered partisan, believing that his country was safer with the party of his choice, would feel content with the admission of Canada into all the privileges of suffrage, or participation in the government of the country, when thereby every calculation was upset and every combination destroyed. Again, the admission of Canada into the United States would involve the assumption of her public debt, which is a very heavy and increasing one. Having been largely created by expenditure for a great system of public works, and the perfection of the means of communication extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the obligations incurred would have to be adjusted, and the assets assumed in a manner entirely different from that which has grown up with the growth of each State and Territory. Aside from these difficulties, so hurriedly sketched, there are numerous other considerations which make it impossible that Canada could with advantage be admitted into political union with the United States. The chief of these objections, however, does not rest with the United States, but lies in the fact that Canada herself is strongly opposed to a political alliance. It is true that there are some Canadians, as there are many Americans, who feel that the manifest destiny of all the English-speaking nations of the North American Continent will be political unity.

CANADIAN LOYALTY A BARRIER TO ANNEXATION.

Those who are most acquainted, however, with the public sentiment in Canada know that loyalty to British institutions permeates the whole country, and that with mother's milk has been drunk in the love for the mother land; love for the good Queen who has ruled them so wisely for half a century, and pride in all the glory of British connection; belief in British prowess, and faith in the integrity of the British Empire. Americans who have shown their love of country by the vast sacrifices they have made to preserve its integrity will not quarrel with this devotion of their Canadian neighbors, because they love their own land and the great nation on the other side of the sea that gave their ancestors birth. The sturdy loyalty of Canadians, to-day, never endured the severe strain that was put upon the loyalty of the colonies a hundred years ago, and the resistance to which resulted in the independence and creation of the great constellation of commonwealths that now rule so large a portion of the continent. The results of that resistance to British rule have not been confined to the United States. They have indeed been world-wide in their effects; but to no country in the world have the results been more beneficial than to Canada. The difference in the mode of government of Canada by the British authorities now, as compared with the mode of government attempted in the colonies previous to the American revolution, is the difference between despotism and freedom—the difference between the dawn of an imperfect civilization and the full sunlight of the glorious present. Had the same liberality prevailed in the latter part of the last century in the treatment of her colonies by Great Britain, as has prevailed in the latter half of this century, there could have been no American revolution; there could have been no cause for separation, and the great experiment of republican institutions, on the vast scale now being worked out, would never have been undertaken, because it would never have been justified. Canada has, however, profited by these stupendous events, which for a hundred years have been occurring on her border, and in no respect greater than that, while she has maintained the British connection, she has enjoyed all the privileges of self-government. Thus, to-day, except in the mere treaty-making power, she is just as free and just as self-reliant as if she were entirely independent. The relations which exist between England and the Dominion imply no interference whatever with local government; not even with the tariff which taxes the products of Great Britain, as you have seen, with the same rigor that applies to the products of all other countries. Not a dollar of contribution is asked from the colony to the Exchequer of England, while not a dollar of money of the British government is asked for by the Canadian authorities. About the only tie that is visible between the mother and daughter now is, that the mother selects, every now and again, some distinguished member of the British aristocracy, who, as a guest, she coolly asks Canada to entertain for a few years as a representative of royalty in the person of the Governor-General. A few years ago the selection was made from the Queen's own household, and for a time the MARQUIS OF LORNE and his charming wife, PRINCESS

LOUISE, held a mimic court at Ottawa. More recently the able and accomplished LORD LANSDOWNE, with his good lady, have dispensed the hospitalities of Rideau Hall, at Ottawa, the Vice-Regal residence, and won all hearts by their cordiality and unaffected courtesy. It is now only by such ties as these that a connection is visible between Great Britain and her great colony on this side of the sea, implying an interference so slight as to be in startling contrast with the exactions, annoyances, and petty tyrannies exercised by Great Britain with her North American colonies prior to the American Revolution. It is true that Canada is the gainer of the heritage of self-government, as the result of the struggle for independence which the United States endured; while her loyalty has been cultured and made perpetual by the liberality of the treatment she has received at the hands of the mother country.

EARLY INFLUENCES AS AGAINST LATE EVENTS.

Nothing, perhaps, has contributed in a greater or more marked degree to the devotion to British institutions which Canada constantly manifests than the influences set in motion by that band of patriots from the United States known as the United Empire loyalists. Have you ever realized just what sacrifices these sturdy loyalists of the Revolution made, rather than yield to the prevailing sentiment of what they considered disloyalty. History has few instances of greater interest than given by those who, because of their devotion to British institutions and British forms of government, would not join in an armed resistance to the land that gave them birth, and forsaking their happy homes, bidding good-bye to fortune and to an assured future, taking with them their wives and little ones, with slender means, stepped out into an almost unbroken wilderness, and doomed themselves and their children to hardships that few have ever realized, in some cases to almost literal starvation, and yet enduring it all with patience and a high sense of duty. All honor to the memory of such men, whose principles of patriotism were so deeply founded that sacrifices such as these could be endured. The world is the better for the existence of such men. The effect of their influence and of the loyalty the example of which they so gloriously set, still exists, and to those who understand its full effects, it is idle now to dream of a political union between Canada and the United States. It is alluded to because there is a tendency in the American mind to feel that isolation, and a refusal to admit Canada to the privileges of the market of the United States, will have the effect of forcing them into a humble position as applicants for a political alliance. Doubtless the repeal of the reciprocity treaty in 1866 was largely influenced by this consideration, but it had an effect entirely contrary to that which was expected, and to-day there is not in the wide world a country more loyal in its sentiment than is Canada to British connection. Possibly in the far future, by close alliance and intimate business relation, a different state of affairs may prevail, and it may be that one of the strongest arguments in favor of a commercial union, in the minds of some who think upon the subject, will be found to be the hope that the great English speaking nations

on this continent will by-and-by become one and the same. Fifty or a hundred years of that close commercial alliance may have this result. It certainly will not have the effect of keeping them further apart. With that future we to-day have nothing to do, because that can alone be decided by those who will then have the say in the matter. Those who come hereafter may be safely trusted to look after their own affairs, and the future may be safely left to take care of itself. If annexation ever does come, it will be the logic of events in their natural order, rather than the result of any forcing process. There are some who believe that commercial union will give to Canada all the advantages of a political union, and, being practically independent and immeasurably content with her political situation, she need never seek to dissolve her British connection. There are others who believe that the attractions of the American system are so great that, once the people come together in close trade relations, the Canadians will largely seek all the advantages which are here offered, including the admission of a foreign vote of an unknown quantity; the beauties of the primary as the pure source of political power, an elective judiciary, and the system by which the professional politicians thrive and make fortunes. Others doubt this. No possible harm can come from a close and intimate business connection, such as one nation by mutual agreement may offer to the other. If it should result in political union hereafter, it will be owing to gradual assimilation of the people and their interests. If it does not, all the advantages of trade and commerce will have been achieved, and all that is best in them and in their country will have been developed.

ADVANTAGES TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. WIMAN said that he had dwelt at great length on the condition of matters in Canada, because there was a constant misapprehension in this country as to the motives that move the people of that country in their desire for commercial union, and the possibilities that exist for a political alliance. He had to apologize for occupying so much space in regard to this matter, but felt that its importance called for the fullest explanation. It was much more pleasant now to turn to the advantages which must accrue to the United States by a commercial union with Canada. One of the first objections encountered in the United States to this project, was the fear that Canada would thereby get some advantage over them. No people in the world were more jealous in a trade than Americans, and if there was one iota of gain to the other side which theirs did not possess it would almost be fatal to the transaction. In a transaction so transcendently important, it was difficult to see just who would gain the greatest possible advantage, but it can be clearly shown that however Canada might prosper, the United States would also be greatly benefitted. In the development of the resources of Canada, the greatest possibilities exist for profit to those who are concerned. As has been before said, Canada was an Eldorado, a treasure house possessing enormous supplies of just those resources that the United States most greatly need—resources that can

be made contributory in a greater degree to the progress of this country than those of any portion of the continent. The catalogue of the natural and national possessions of Canada was a long one, and the speaker would not attempt to enumerate them, but here were a few leading articles which should be referred to. Before doing so however, allusion should be made

TO THE AREA OF CANADA.

Do you realize that the region which a commercial union with Canada will open up to the trade and commerce of the United States is an area considerably greater than that covered by the United States themselves? The area of square miles in the Union is 3,036,000; the area of square miles in Canada is 3,500,000 square miles. As Mr. GEORGE JOHNSON, the distinguished head of the Government Literary Bureau at Ottawa, author of the most recent Hand-book of Canada, says:

"It is most difficult to convey any adequate conception of the vastness of the country. England, Wales and Scotland together form an area of 88,000 square miles. You can cut forty such areas out of Canada. New South Wales contains 309,000 square miles, and is larger than France, Continental Italy and Sicily. Canada would make eleven countries the size of New South Wales. There are (in extent) three British Indias in Canada, and still enough left over to make a Queensland and a Victoria. The German Empire could be carved out of Canada, and fifteen more countries of the same size."

There are eleven Provinces, (including Provisional Provinces) four of which are maritime, and all of which, except three, have a sea-board, or are accessible from the sea. As a rule the people of the United States have the impression that Canada is but an oil-skin of a country, fringing the border of a frozen region from Halifax in Nova Scotia to Sarnia in Ontario. How mistaken this notion is those who have seen the thrift of the older Provinces will readily testify. But even the great Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario are but the vestibules and ante-chambers of a region undreamt of until within the last twenty-five or thirty years, a region just as full of product, promise and profit as is your own Minnesota, Dakota, and Montana. Just think that the basin of the Hudson's Bay is 2,000,000 square miles in extent, and then realize that the whole area of the United States is 3,036,000 square miles. The Pacific slope, within Canada, covers an area of 311,000 square miles, while the whole area of the basin of the St. Lawrence River, within the United States, is only 70,000 square miles. The plains of Saskatchewan River measure 500,000 square miles, and in climate product, and every other advantage are, according to Lord Selkirk, capable of supporting thirty millions of people. The extent of Canada may be best illustrated by the statement that the excess of its area over that of the United States is greater than the whole area included in the States joining in the Declaration of Independence. But, perhaps, no better or more interesting illustration of the magnitude of the country can be given than by an extract from a speech by the eloquent Earl of Dufferin, who took a novel way to correct the gross misapprehension that exists in

England, as well as in the United States, as to the extent of Canada. He said:

"Perhaps the best way of correcting such a universal misapprehension would be by a summary of the rivers which flow through them, for we know that as a poor man cannot afford to live in a big house, so a small country cannot support a big river. Now to an Englishman or a Frenchman the Severn or the Thames, the Seine or the Rhone would appear considerable streams, but in the Ottawa, a mere affluent of the St. Lawrence, an affluent moreover which reaches the parent stream six hundred miles from its mouth, we have a river nearly five hundred and fifty miles long, and three or four times as big as any of them. But even after having ascended the St. Lawrence itself to Lake Ontario, and pursued it across Lake Huron, St. Clair, and Lake Superior to Thunder Bay, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles, where are we? In the estimation of the person who has made the journey, at the end of all things; but to us, who know better, scarcely at the commencement of the great fluvial systems of the Dominion; for, from that spot, that is to say, from Thunder Bay, we are able at once to ship our astonished traveller on to the Kaministiquia, a river of some hundred miles long. Thence, almost in a straight line, we launch him on to Lake Shebandowan and Rainy Lake and River—a magnificent stream three hundred yards broad and a couple of hundred miles long, down whose tranquil bosom he floats into the Lake of the Woods, where he finds himself on a sheet of water which, though diminutive as compared with the inland seas he has left behind him, will probably be found sufficiently extensive to render him fearfully sea sick during his passage across it. For the last eighty miles of his voyage, however, he will be consoled by sailing through a succession of land-locked channels, the beauty of whose scenery, while it resembles, certainly excels the far-famed Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence. From this lacustrine paradise of sylvan beauty we are able at once to transfer our friend to the Winnipeg, a river whose existence in the very heart and centre of the continent is in itself one of Nature's most delightful miracles, so beautiful and varied are its rocky banks, its tufted islands, so broad, so deep, so fervid is the volume of its waters, the extent of their lake-like expansions, and the tremendous power of their rapids. At last let us suppose we have landed our traveller at the town of Winnipeg, the half-way house of the continent, the capital of the Prairie Province. Having had so much of water, having now reached the home of the buffalo, like the extenuated Falstaff, he naturally 'babbles of green fields' and careers in imagination over the primeval grasses of the prairie. Not at all. We ask him which he will ascend first—the Red River or the Assiniboine, two streams, the one five hundred miles long, the other four hundred and eighty, which mingle their waters within the city limits of Winnipeg. After having given him a preliminary canter up these respective rivers we take him off to Lake Winnipeg, an inland sea three hundred miles long and upwards of sixty broad, during the navigation of which for many a weary hour he will find himself out of sight of land, and probably a good deal more indisposed than ever he was on the Lake of the Woods, or even the Atlantic. At the north-west angle of Lake Winnipeg he hits upon the mouth of the Saskatchewan, the gateway to the North West, and the starting point to another one thousand five hundred miles of navigable water, flowing nearly due east and west between its alluvial banks. Having now reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains our 'ancient mariner', for by this time he will be quite entitled to such an appellation, knowing that water cannot run up hill, feels certain his aquatic experiences are concluded. He was never more mistaken. We immediately launch him upon the Arthabaska and Mackenzie rivers, and start him on a longer trip than any he has yet undertaken—the navigation of the Mackenzie river alone exceeding two thousand five hundred miles. If he survives this last experience we wind up his peregrinations by a concluding voyage of one thousand four hundred miles down the Fraser.

river, or, if he prefers it, the Thompson river, to Victoria, in Vancouver, whence, having previously provided him with a first-class return ticket for that purpose, he will probably prefer getting home *via* the Canadian Pacific."

THE CLIMATIC CONDITIONS.

Having attempted to convey to you an idea of the magnitude of Canada as a country, the next thing to attempt will be to satisfy you that this vast country is not a frozen region, incapable of producing agricultural products, or otherwise being anything else than a section of the North Pole. That is the general impression that exists, not only in England, but even among distinguished Statesmen of the United States. You will therefore perhaps be surprised to be told that of all the advantages which Canada possesses, the one which of all others she may rely the most on for her future greatness, is her climate! As MALTE BRUN said, in relation to the region now included in Canada, "Everything there is in proper keeping for the development of the combined and mental energies of man. There are to be found at once the hardihood of character which conquers difficulties, the climate which stimulates exertion, and the natural advantages which reward enterprise. Nature has marked out this country for exalted destinies." As has been well said, Canada has in fact all the climates of Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Arctic Ocean, as might be expected, seeing that it extends from the latitude of Rome in Italy to that of Cape North in Norway, and is almost of equal area. In respect to this question of climate one cannot do better than to quote from the versatile George Johnson, who says:

"A large portion of Canada is in latitudes which in Europe have proved the most favorable to the health of man. The mean temperature of the regions watered by the Moose and Abbitibi Rivers corresponds with the north of Europe, being 65° F. The regions drained by the northern part of the Ottawa and by the Saguenay, and the northern parts of Nova Scotia, correspond with the south coast of England, Paris, the middle of Germany, and the south of Russia, being 60° F., while 65° F. represents the summer temperature of the regions bordering upon the Upper St. Lawrence Lakes, London, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, the St. Lawrence to Quebec, and eastwards to Fredericton, the capital of the province of New Brunswick.

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"Altitude more than latitude makes climate, and in this respect Canada occupies a position superior to most regions. According to Humboldt, Europe has a mean elevation of 671 feet, South America of 1,132, Asia of 1,151, and North America of 748 feet. The Canadian part of North America is placed at 300 feet. * * * * *

"The ascent from the ocean to Lake Superior does not average more than six inches in a mile, and even this ascent is not markedly noticeable till we proceed westward. Montreal, the head of ocean navigation, reached only after passing over several hundred miles of fresh surface water, is at low water but eighteen feet above the level of the sea, as it rolls under the lighter fresh water along the bed of its estuary. * * * * *

"The marine currents are singularly favorable to Canada. Along the Atlantic coast the gulf stream exerts its benign influences to such an extent that on Sable Island there are troops of wild ponies, the progenitors of which, two centuries ago, were ship-wrecked and cast upon the island, and there, successive generations, without shelter of any kind, have lived and

multiplied. In Halifax, in the depth of winter, a dozen hours of south wind will mow down the snow-banks, as a mowing machine cuts down the ripened grass.

"Along the Canadian littoral of the Pacific Ocean the Japanese current produces the same effect on the climate as the gulf stream does in England. Vancouver Island is like the south of England, except that it has a greater summer heat with less humidity. In the vicinity of Victoria the highest temperature in the shade in July and August ranges from 80 to 90° F., while the thermometer in winter seldom goes as low as 22° below freezing point. As respects the ocean currents, it may be said that they make a difference in the regions affected by them of 10° of latitude. * * *

"In the district of Alberta, the winter climate is comparatively mild, not severe; blizzards are unknown, and stock winter in the open air and come out fat and in good condition in the spring. The government statistics show that there are now fifty-one ranches in which stock has been placed; that they vary in size from 1,500 to 100,000 acres, and have a combined area of 1,693,670 acres. The reports from all are favorable as to the future, speaking well for the climate in mid-winter. The great bodies of water which are a distinguishing feature of Canada also exert considerable influence upon the climate. Hudson's Bay is 1,000 miles long by 600 wide. Its temperature is 65° F. during summer; in winter, it is 3° warmer than the waters of Lake Superior. The chain of fresh water lakes, which, almost without a break, extends between latitude 44-45 and latitude 51 north, and from longitude 75 to longitude 120, covers, together with the smaller lakes, an area of 130,000 square miles, and contains nearly one-half of all the fresh water on the surface of the globe. The moderating influences of these large bodies of water, which never freeze over, will be at once recognized."

That the climatic influences, even in the extreme Northwest, are not unfavorable is best illustrated by the facility with which wheat is grown in Northern latitudes. Lord Dufferin claimed that most of the streams he so eloquently described in the Northwest flowed their entire length through alluvial plains of the richest description, where year after year wheat can be raised without manure, and without any sensible diminution of its yield, and where the soil everywhere presents the appearance of a highly cultivated suburban kitchen garden. The wheat plant is supposed to be one of the most delicate of plants, but for the growth of wheat the climatic conditions most favorable to it seems in the North; witness the change within memory of man from the Genesee Valley in New York to Ohio, then to Minnesota and Dakota, and now why not to the wheat areas of Northwestern Canada, where there is said to be 466,000 square miles of wheat-bearing territory. Indeed, it is claimed with considerable show of truth that the wheat bearing areas of Canada far exceed the wheat-bearing areas of the United States, a fact of vast significance when one contemplates the importance that attaches to this food of the world. One or two facts of great importance in relation to the production of wheat in these Northern regions should impress itself upon you and upon all the world: one of these is, that owing to the nearness of this wheat-bearing area to the North Pole, the sun, during the summer months, affords two hours longer of forcing power than elsewhere on the continent, where wheat can be grown. Two hours a day of additional sunlight during a wheat growing season is of enormous importance, and gives to these regions an advantage which the frost and cold of the balance of the year in no way lessen. But even the frost and cold, strange to say, afford

an advantage in the production of the delicate wheat plant. This advantage is found in the fact that, owing to the depth in the ground which the frost penetrate, the earth is never entirely free from its influence, and, deep down in the rich alluvial soil, there remains a well spring of moisture, which under the long and strong sun's rays constantly exudes, and keeps moist the tender roots of the plant. Hence droughts and absence of rain have no terror to the wheat producer of the great Northwest.

But no matter what area is afforded, no matter what are the advantages offered, population and occupancy are the essentials to make all these available. Through the United States there is now coming a vast army of European emigrants, that, if the border line were imperceptible, would as readily occupy the vast stretches of the Canadian Northwestern Provinces as anywhere else. If, by sinking out of sight the barriers that divide the two countries, the United States could get the trade that these new communities would create, why should she hesitate to do so.

WEALTH IN IRON.

There is no country in the world which possesses so much iron as Canada. In no land is it so easily mined, and nowhere is it quite so accessible to great manufacturing centres.

The impression exists in the ordinary mind that the supplies of iron which the United States produce are abundantly adequate for her needs, but such is not the case, as our imports of iron are something enormous. For the present season the amount of rails which have been brought in reach in all 400,000 tons, costing at \$40 a ton, \$16,000,000, including a payment to the United States government of \$17 a ton, or \$6,800,000. In addition to this the amount of blooms to be rolled into rails will amount to nearly an additional 200,000 tons, while the imported raw ore will amount to over a million tons, which pays a duty of 75 cents for every ton, and which costs laid down here from \$7 to \$8 a ton. It may seem a little surprising to you that the great new discoveries of iron in the Gogebic Ranges, which you thought were sufficient to swamp all the markets of the United States, are still unable to furnish the demand from the furnaces of the United States, and that the Island of Elba, which was worked before the Christian era by the Romans, is still furnishing the furnaces at Pittsburgh; that the mills of Andrew Carnegie—the star-spangled Scotchman, the typical modern American manufacturer—are deriving their supplies from a source so old, so ancient as that which was worked by the Romans two thousand years ago. How strangely is the past linked thus with the present? The plates for building our war ships and our cannons, which are made by the Bethlehem Iron Company, are wholly derived from Spain. Is it not a strange illustration of the necessity that sometimes exists for “carrying coals to Newcastle,” that iron from the new region of Canada penetrated by the Kingston & Pembroke Railway is absolutely being mined in Canada and carried up the river past your own doors to the furnaces in Joliet, Illinois, because of its excellence and its freedom from phosphorus? In this question of phosphorus, plain, common people like yourself and me,

had better be informed, because iron of the United States is possessed of that element to such an extent, while the iron of Canada is free from it, that the union of the two is of the greatest possible consequence. It has been said that phosphorus is to iron what the devil is to religion. Canadian ores are especially low in phosphorus, and if it were not for the trade barriers they would fill a much larger place in the supply to the United States. The contributions which we are now receiving from Spain, Africa, and Cuba would be derived from Canada. No development whatever in the United States will stop the importations of iron. These importations are brought in solely because of the peculiarity of the ore and its freedom from phosphorus. The Canadian ores possess this freedom. The lack of development renders them unavailable, and we are sending out money to Spain and Africa where we have no trade at all, while if we had the development within a few miles of us, in Canada, we could have all the trade. We buy our sugar from the Spanish provinces, and our iron, but what do they take from us? It is a revelation of a strange condition that not a dollar's worth of free flour can go to Spain, while we are taking millions of dollars worth of ore from her, she having hypothecated the revenue derived from flour for the security of her bonds. The consumption of iron in this country is greater than the consumption of any other product, being about 210 pounds per capita per annum. There is not a little baby that toddles up to its mother that does not carry on its back a burden of 210 pounds of iron in the statistical average of consumption. The growth in the use of iron is greater than that of any other article, while its future increase is beyond estimate. The disappearance of wood, the ingenuity of man, and the adaptability of the material, makes it possible that iron will enter, to a greater degree than can be estimated, into the industrial arts and refinements of life. The day is near at hand when your wooden ships will be a thing of the past, and only iron ships will be known on your lakes. Already it is considered that railroad bridges made of iron are alone safe. The day is fast coming when wooden sleepers will disappear from your railways, and be superseded by iron ties. You can imagine what the consumption will be when you consider that there are 140,000 miles already laid in the United States, and every mile contains 2,650 cross ties. The day is not far distant when cars, as well as locomotives, will be made of iron, and not only locomotives and cars but telegraph poles. Let me draw your attention to the fact that to-day a greater quantity of iron is being used in the matter of fencing than could have been dreamed of years ago. Not only is the wire fence now so common all over the West a revelation of the use to which iron may be put, but the posts on which the fence rests are also of this material. Who would have predicted with any degree of credence fifty years ago that hundreds of miles of fence and posts were now composed purely of iron, and every day displacing wood right in the very forests, because of its economy and durability. Now, under such circumstances, will it not be an immense boon to this country to have opened up to it sources of supply almost beyond human belief? Do you realize the fact that within six hours of the city of Rochester there lie

buried treasures in iron so great as to exceed the treasures on lake Superior? Do you realize the fact that American capital and American enterprise have already by the Central Ontario Railway permeated this region, up the Valley of the Trent, and for a hundred and fifty miles this road runs through an almost continuous iron belt? That already ore is being mined from these regions, brought to the lake ports, and is entering into their daily commerce, notwithstanding the fact that it has to bear a tax of 75 cents a ton? The percentage of metallic iron in all these Canadian ores is just as great as that of the rich Gogebic regions, the development of which has added so much to the wealth of this country, and which are already capitalized for more than \$70,000,000, though they were practically unknown two years ago. Let me give you but one example? At New Glasgow, in Nova Scotia, within a radius of six miles, there is found hundreds of tons of iron ore of the best quality, equal to that of any other portion of the world, side by side with limestone chemically pure, coke in abundant quantities from seams thirty feet thick, all directly on the Inter-colonial Railway, and within six miles of the Atlantic ocean. This ore, manufactured at that point, could be brought to Boston for a dollar and a half a ton, which to bring from the Gogebic regions, where there is no coal, would cost five dollars a ton. In the South, about the development of which we have heard so much, it is true there are inexhaustible quantities of iron ore, side by side with coal and limestone, but this great misfortune occurs, that these ores are not steel ores, and are high in phosphorus, which may be represented as the devil, while in this region of Canada the devil is absent. If the iron mines of Canada were held to-day at a figure which would prevent Americans from acquiring them there might be some cause to say that commercial union would not benefit Americans, but there is hardly a stretch of iron ore in Canada to-day, the fee simple of which could not be had for a mere song, and not any but could be had at a nominal price of a royalty which would not be felt in the amount of money to be made from their development should an open market be permitted with the United States. The truth is that in the upper continent of North America there is no region where the iron development is of such transcending importance to the United States as the development within Canada, because of its accessibility, its abundance, its freedom from phosphorus, and the cheapness at which it can be acquired by Americans themselves. The Ontario government have this year sold 150,000 acres of land for \$2 an acre, covering an iron belt seventy five miles across.

FAST WEALTH IN COPPER AND NICKEL.

In regard to copper, the great success which has been achieved by the great representative copper company of the world, known as the Calumet-Hecla, has been based on the fact that 5 per cent. of the ore was pure copper, whereas in the Canadian copper development it is found that the percentage of copper runs all the way from 6 to as high as 30 per cent. The use of copper has increased next only in extent to iron, and its cheapness of recent years has developed uses for it that were never dreamed of.

For roofing cars and other such uses it is likely to be introduced very extensively. The Canadian copper deposits are almost beyond human belief, there being ridges miles long at the Suggbury Junction mine on the Canada Pacific Railway, reachable within the next ninety days from the American border at Sault St. Marie, rendering available such riches as to be almost beyond human belief. The present duty on copper is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, which has been practically prohibitory of the importation of raw copper from these regions. It is utterly unnecessary and unjustifiable, for we are the largest exporters of copper in the world. It is a fact that you can get on a horse and ride through continuous ridges containing more copper above ground than is to be seen on any iron deposit in the world. The famous mine of Calumet and Hecla has a vein twelve feet thick. There is one within four hours of the lake a thousand feet thick. Judge of the comparison? Agassiz, the father of the man who is president of the Calumet-Hecla Company said that "comparison is at the bottom of all philosophy." The comparison in this case indicates the philosophy that we can make the United States rich by having free access to the copper of Canada. Within the next ninety days you can take a Pullman car at Detroit, and in a very few hours you can step directly from the car to the mines, as near as you dare go with safety when they are blasting. Within the past ten days one of the most illustrious citizens of this country, Senator Sherman, has with his own eyes beheld this enormous deposit, and has seen its accessibility, its riches and availability for American capital and American enterprise.

In the matter of nickel the deposits of Canada challenge attention. The results of one deposit in the United States in Pennsylvania, were two per cent of nickel which has supplied the whole United States. There is in Canada millions and millions of tons of nickel ore, which contain, according to a recent analysis, six to ten per cent. of pure nickel. Of course you know its commonest use is in the nickel five cent piece, but it is used in all the five grades of manufactures. It is a metal that is stronger than steel, not only very hard, but very malleable and ductile. Its use in the manufacture of guns has hitherto been impossible because of its high price, but with the development of the mines of Canada all the artillery of the world can be made from it. One of the best illustrations of its availability is the fact that just before the death of the great Krupp, the German gun-maker, negotiations were pending for obtaining supplies from the Canadian nickel mines for the manufacture of his celebrated guns for European warfare. Is it not an illustration of the marvellous riches of Canada that the greatest gun-maker in all the world should have had his attention turned to the metal which above all others would suit his purpose, but which still lays dormant in the wilds of Canada. Is it not an illustration of the stupid ignorance of our own people that almost within sight of their shores should be lying metal of such intrinsic value, needing only industry and development, with American capitalists and the American miner, to make it available for the uses of the world. An illustration of the superiority of nickel over copper, or any other metal, is found in the experiment which was tried on a

German ship, which was sheeted on one side with nickel, and on the other side with copper. She went on a two years' cruise around the world, and on her return she was listed down with barnacles and sea shell accumulations on the copper-sheeted side so as to be scarcely navigable, while the nickel side was as bright as when it was put on. The use of nickel in the sheeting of vessels would result in a revolution in all the tropical waters, where one of the chief impediments to speed is the accumulations which copper and other metal gather in, but which in the case of nickel is entirely impossible. In the manufacture of the guns, recently ordered by the Navy Department, the world is being searched by the Bethlehem people for material. The iron must be of such a fine quality, so entirely free from phosphorus, that out of a whole ton if there were present the merest trace of phosphorus, equivalent to two hundredths of one per cent., the metal would be condemned. In the case of nickel, however, if it could be substituted for iron, no such difficulty would be found, and it could, if allowed to come in free from Canada, be substituted at a less cost than iron costs to day. Then there would be a gun that would not be equalled on earth. The value of nickel may be estimated by the fact that within ten years its purchaseable price was \$1.50 to \$2 a pound. If it could be admitted free and the needed development take place on an extensive scale, it could be introduced into common use at 30 cents a pound. Is there in the whole range of economic experience a circumstance so full of significance as this one fact, that within sight of Michigan lies millions of tons of this product, which only needs to have a market to be brought into common use, for the great benefit of mankind and the good of every one who is concerned in the creation of trade that would be developed with the development of the mines. The world's supply of nickel to-day lies between the Island of New Caledonia, a French penal colony, 150 miles east of Australia, and the mines in Canada, with an exhausted deposit in Pennsylvania which now does not exceed two per cent. of ore; the one source of supply on the Canada Pacific Railway within a few miles of Detroit, and the other just half-way around the globe.

OTHER MINERALS.

But it is not alone in iron, copper, and nickel, that Canada possesses great natural wealth. In gold and silver her productions have already been extensive. In Nova Scotia \$8,000,000 has been taken out of the ground, by a very imperfect system of mining, in fifteen years; and in British Columbia immense quantities are believed to exist, from the fact that gold to the value of \$50,000,000 has been mined from only a dozen localities, yet hardly fully developed. With regard to silver, you will all remember the remarkable story of Silver Islet, at the head of Lake Superior, which yielded such immense returns. Throughout the Port Arthur district, and in the Beaver and Rabbit mountains, silver is now being mined with good success, and there are many indications of its existence in numerous localities in Canada.

Of phosphates, however, Canada possesses an enormous quantity, and of the purest character. No country in the world needs fertilizers more than large portions of the United States. The manufacture of this article is one of the most important industries, and its output simply enormous. In Canada there is, in counties of the Ottawa, almost inexhaustible supplies of the highest grade of natural fertilizers. Analysis shows that Canadian phosphates possess phosphoric acid up to 37 and 39 per cent., or equivalent to 80 or 86 per cent. of phosphate of lime. No contribution to the wealth of the continent is of greater value than the development of this important industry, and already American enterprise and American capital are seeking investment in this direction.

In asbestos, also, Canada possesses one of the most valuable of minerals. It is common in Canada, and only elsewhere in the world in Italy. There is some in California, but it costs too much to market. It is a fibrous material, known for its power to resist fire and acids, and presents the widest field for inventive genius to open up new processes for building purposes, fabrics, and for use in steam boilers, pipes, paints, fire-proof cement, and other uses.

Salt, antimony, building stones, arsenic, perites, oxides of iron, marble, lithographic stones, graphites, plumbago, gypsum, soapstone, white quartz for potters' use, silicious sand-stones for glass making, emery, and numerous other great products lay dormant, awaiting the touch of man. In the matter of lead, it is found in almost every province, and especially in British Columbia, where the opening up of Kootenay county shows enormous deposits of lead and silver ores, the lead ore showing as much as 15½ ounces of silver to the ton.

Mica is one of the characteristic minerals of the Laurentian range that dominates Canada. In these ranges are found the white, brown and black varieties, and in the Ottawa valley are huge storehouses of mica, which has a promise of a great future, its usefulness of late years having been greatly extended in the manufacture of wall-paper, the embellishment of cars, as a lubricator for machinery, and is especially valuable as an anti-friction product. It is unwise to burden you longer with a detail of Canadian riches in the minor minerals; enough will be said if you can be convinced that of all countries in the world Canada not only possesses greater riches, but a greater variety than any other country.

Allusion was made a little while ago to the wheat-producing power of the Northwest, but attention should be drawn to the enormous mineral resources of Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories. The whole country, with the exception of the Red River Valley, the great wheat belt, is rich in mineral deposits: gold is found in Lake of the Woods in quartz and nuggets, in the Saskatchewan Valley in dust, where even now men with shovel and bucket can make an average of ten dollars a day. The iron deposits of the Britannic Range, on Big Island and Lake Winnipeg are of immense value, and having been recently treated by two of the smelting works in Chicago, their reports are extremely favorable, especially in helping the Lake Superior ores.

In the matter of coal, both in the Territories and throughout Canada, the deposit is something remarkable. Throughout the Northwest there is hardly any place more than one hundred miles from a coal bed. The whole coal area of Canada is very extensive, an approximate estimate placing it at no less than 97,000 square miles. The magnitude of the interests involved in this question of supply of coal, its contiguity and economy of handling, are of enormous importance to the United States, and it is a significant testimony to the important position which Canada holds on that question, when it is recalled that away down on the Atlantic the manufacturing coal of Nova Scotia should without doubt supply the manufacturing centres of New England, at a minimum of cost, while away out on the Pacific, on the other hand, the great anthracite supplies of British Columbia are an absolute necessity for San Francisco and contiguous cities, and which they are now absorbing at the rate of 300,000 tons a year. Is it not an illustration of the advisability of obliterating all the dividing lines between the two countries, when at points so distant, and points so numerous, their interests touch each other and intermingle to such a degree that intimacy and connection, one with the other, seem an absolute necessity for each other's proper advance in civilization.

THE TIMBER SUPPLY.

Perhaps of all articles which Canada can best supply to the United States there is none of greater moment to it than that of timber and lumber. When one recalls the vast areas covered in the North American continent with the finest forests on the one hand, and the wide stretches the treeless prairies in the United States on the other, it is clear that the Divinity that shaped this state of affairs never intended that a high barrier should divide the supply from the demand. The riches of Canada in her timber resources were not more abundant than the needs of the United States for these supplies, and the policy of government which would exact a rate of duty on the production or importation of such a prime necessity as lumber is an egregious mistake. In the first place, the duty which has been collected on Canadian lumber is an utterly unnecessary and unjustifiable charge—unnecessary because the government is already embarrassed with its surplus of revenue, and unjustifiable because the protection afforded to the manufacture of lumber in the United States has an absolutely opposite effect to that which protection affords in manufactures, because, the more the production is stimulated, the more certain is the destruction. In other words, protection to lumber means destruction. The forests which in Michigan and in other States were once a pride and a source of wealth cannot be replaced. It is true that some individual interests may temporarily be advanced by a tariff on Canadian lumber, but the whole body of consumers are made to suffer. There is nothing which in the great aggregation of humanity in the cities of America is so greatly needed as cheap homes. The labor problem, the commune, the socialistic element, all are more or less concerned in the question of cheap homes, for once a man has a little home of his

own, and can see his way to preserve it, and keep it for his children, he ceases to be an agitator, and becomes a citizen with whom it is safe to entrust the privileges of a vote. In New York and many of the great cities, the advance in building material and the cost of land is a serious drawback to marriage and raising a family, and the fulfilment of the highest duties of a citizen. To exact a twenty per cent. duty upon materials for homes is, therefore, the most unwise policy that it is possible to indulge in. Commercial union would open up to the people of the United States an enormous area of timber and lumber in Canada, which would afford such supplies of every variety as nowhere else is available. The area of timber land in Canada is something enormous. Excepting the great triangular prairie east of the Rocky Mountains, lying between the United States boundary line and a line drawn from the Red River to the Upper Peace River, the whole of Canada up to the northern limit of the growth of trees presents one vast forest area except where it has been cleared by the hand of man. According to my friend, A. T. DRUMMOND, within this area there are ninety-five species of forest trees, including nineteen of the pine family. It is true that the hand of man has largely denuded the valley of the Ottawa and the province of Ontario and portions of Quebec of their riches in timber, but there are still vast supplies at the head waters of the Ottawa, on the St. Maurice, and towards St. James' Bay, and more especially in the Provinces of British Columbia. The timber trade of this latter region will in the near future, with the opening up of the country by railways and an increased utilization of navigable rivers, rise to proportions of immense importance, while throughout portions of even Ontario and Quebec there are still enormous supplies of the beautiful birdseye maple, black birch, oak, basswood, black ash, and other useful and highly ornamental woods which this country, in its progress towards the highest grades of furniture greatly needs. Of late years the use of natural woods has shown the improved taste in the decoration of interiors, and there is no source of supply for this continued beautification of homes so accessible, so varied, and so comprehensive as that of Canada.

THE WEALTH OF CANADA IN HER FISHERIES.

While the earth has its riches in such abundance that the heart of man should be devoutly grateful to the Giver of all Good for their infinite variety and abundant supply, yet the sea has a wealth that in many countries is looked upon as quite as great as that of the earth. In North America, however, we do not reap the harvest that the sea yields to the extent of the privileges afforded. It is along the borders of the great lakes, and along the shores of the great seas, that the sustentation of human life is contributed to as it might be by the exercise of man's industry in gathering in the wealth that Providence has provided in the water. There are thousands of people in the interior who from year to year rarely know what it is to taste fish, and there is no great industry susceptible of larger development, or more greatly contributing to the reduction of the cost of living, or adding variety and thus health to the food of the country, than that of

the fisheries. While this is so with regard to the general question of fisheries, the place that Canada occupies in this department of the supply of human food is very significant, because she owns the largest and the richest fisheries in the world. As my friend, the Hon. PETER MITCHELL, says, "The great variety and superior quality of the fish products of the sea and inland waters of Canada afford a nutritious and economic food, admirably adapted to the domestic wants of a mixed and laborious population. The prolific nature of the waters adjacent to Canada, and the convenience of their undisturbed use, make the sea and inland fisheries on this continent of peculiar value." Did you ever realize the vast stretches of coast line of which Canada controls the fisheries? Bounded as the Dominion is by three oceans it has besides its numerous inland seas over 5,500 miles of sea coast, washed by waters abounding in the most valuable fishes of all kinds. The older provinces of the Confederation have 2,500 miles of sea coast and inland seas, while the sea coast of British Columbia alone is over 3,000 miles in extent. The teeming waters of these possessions must be reckoned as national property, richer and more perpetual than any mere estimate in money can express. But not only in the matter of extent of sea coast line and territory has Canada larger fisheries than all other countries in the world, but in the extreme northern location which she occupies she possesses an advantage which is of immense value. This advantage is that the fish are better in the northern climates than in the southern climates, and not only are the fish better and more solid in the northern climates, but the supply of fish food is, owing to the extreme northern location, something enormous. Mr. HARVEY, in his history of Newfoundland, says "that the arctic currents which wash the coast of Labrador, Newfoundland and Canada, chilling the atmosphere, and bearing on its bosom huge ice argosies, is the source of the vast fish wealth which has been drawn on for ages, and which promises to continue for ages to come. Wanting this cold river in the ocean the cod, seals, herring, mackerel, halibut and numerous other fish which now crowd the northern seas would be entirely absent. The great fishing interests are just as dependent upon this arctic current as are the farming interests on the rain and sunshine which ripen the crop." Professor HIND says, "the arctic seas, and the great rivers which they send forth, swarm with minute forms of life, constituting in many places a living mass,—a vast ocean of living slime. The all-pervading life which exists there affords the true solution of the problem which has so often presented itself to those investigating deep sea fisheries, viz; the source of food which gives sustenance to the countless millions of fish that swarm upon the coasts of the Dominion." Another writer, Dr. BROWN, has shown that the presence of this slime, spread over 100,000 square miles, "provides food for millions of birds that frequent the arctic seas in the summer, and furnishes sustenance to the largest marine animals the year round." Another writer, Mr. Sheriff JONCAS, of Gaspe, the clever contributor to the literature of the British Association, says: "By far the largest area of this cold water subtends the coasts of the British American Provinces within the 100 fathom line of soundings. It is computed that while the

cold water subtending the United States is about 45,000 square miles, that which subtends the British American shores is over 200,000 square miles." You will see from this comparison the superior value of the fisheries of British North America. The harvest of the sea has not yet been gleaned to the same extent as the harvest of the land. As Sheriff JONCAS further says, "the fact of foreign nations having always clung with tenacity to every right of common liberty which they have been enabled to secure in these fisheries, and the eagerness which foreigners manifest to establish themselves in the absolute use of such extensive and lucrative privileges constitute the best extrinsic evidence of the wide-spreading influence of their possession, and the strongest testimony to their industrial and commercial worth." The trouble which has arisen in the St. Lawrence between the United States and Canada, in regard to the fishery question, indicates the enormous importance of this interest, and if by commercial union between the two countries all cause for friction should be removed, and all this vast area opened up to American industry and American enterprise, resulting in an enormous increase in the production of fish, and its cheapened price to the vast mass of consumers, is any other argument needed to make it clear that this commercial union would be an advantage? The effect of the obliteration of the dividing line between the two countries in the matter of fish would be more comprehensive, more beneficial, to all classes of the community, than almost any other act that could be imagined, removing at once and forever the dangerous element of difference, which like the Ghost of Banquo, arises periodically to disturb the peace of the nations; enlarging such an area of industry for the employment of those who would seek it in this direction, and resulting in a cheapened food product of the greatest possible value to the community at large. What larger or better achievement can be imagined than by appropriate legislation between the two countries to make this, as all other articles, free from all entangling conditions,—free as the air and the water for the good of the people on both sides of the border.

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES.

Aside from the enormous wheat-growing possibilities of the great Northwest, as illustrated in the progress of such States as Minnesota and Dakota, there are in the other provinces possibilities of very great contributions to the United States in the shape of agricultural products. Of course, in a certain sense, these products compete with those of the farmers of the United States, but inasmuch as they are now coming in to this country to a very large extent, it is not believed that the removal of the duty would materially lessen the price. The productions of Canada are so insignificant, as compared with the total products of the United States, that for many years they would not enter into competition to any serious extent with American products. There is a peculiarity also about many of the Canadian articles that prevents them from materially entering into competition here. Thus, in the matter of wool, Ontario is the natural habitation on this continent for combing wool sheep, and without a full, cheap, and reliable supply

of the wool of this species the worsted manufactories of the country cannot prosper. Ontario is the land where grows the finest barley, which the brewing interest of the United States must have if it ever expects to rival Great Britain in its present annual export of \$11,000,000 worth of malt products. Ontario raises and grazes the finest cattle, with qualities especially desirable to make good the deterioration of stock in other sections. In horses, which are needed greatly for draft purposes in the United States; in poultry and eggs; in fruits, butter and cheese, she possesses powers of production quite equal, if not superior, to the most perfect agricultural sections of the United States. These being in close contiguity to many manufacturing centres, afford to the greatest number of people the greatest possible advantage, and if it is a fact that the price may not be materially lessened by their free introduction, as they now largely come in even against the duty, there is no controlling obstacle to the abolition of the customs line in regard to these products. Looking at the map of North America, one who is unacquainted with the barriers which Governments have erected would naturally suppose that the fertile valleys of Nova Scotia, and especially of Annapolis, would be the natural sources of supply of many of the smaller products, that the great manufacturing centres in New England would draw largely from. In apples, berries, garden truck and the smaller grains, this fine province and its neighbor, Prince Edward Island, could with the greatest possible facility furnish portions of New England most advantageously, to the great good of all consumers. The trade could not exist unless the demand existed. If the demand exists it ought to be supplied at the most reasonable rates, and with the facility that contiguity, cheap means of communication, and the great productive power of the locality afford. Going West, New Brunswick is not an agricultural region, but there are many agricultural products in it that would benefit the United States; while from portions of Quebec, and largely from Ontario, supplies could be derived of agricultural products that would greatly benefit not only the producers, but the consumers. Speaking of Ontario, an eminent commercial economist of this country, Hon. DAVID A. WELLS, says: "Such a country as Ontario is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the human race, better than bonanzas of silver, or rivers whose sands contain gold. At present, this land so favored by nature is in a great measure unoccupied and sparsely populated, because there is little market for the product of its industry, and the United States has practically said there shall be none. With an area nearly equal to that of the three great States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, which now have a population of 12,000,000, the present population of Ontario is less than 2,000,000. During the period of the operation of the reciprocity treaty the ratio of increase of population was at the rate of 4.38 per cent. per annum, or in a ratio greater than the United States at any period of its history, but after the outbreak of our civil war and the repeal of reciprocity, or from 1861 to 1871, the annual ratio of increase ran down to 1.61, or to a ratio less than that of the United States at any period of its history. Let all barriers to free commercial intercourse

and the exchange of products be now removed, and who can doubt that in the course of one or two decades, (and what are ten or twenty years in the life of a nation?), there will be gathered in what is now Ontario the material for several great and prospering States—States whose population, originating mainly in the United States, connected with them by ties of blood, kindred and similarity of thought (which free intercourse will annually strengthen and not weaken), will be American rather than provincial; States whose people, under the representative government now enjoyed in Ontario, will largely determine the policy of the whole Dominion.”

RELATIONS, RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES.

An admirable photograph of the natural relations, resources, and capabilities of Canada, as connected with the United States, is presented in a report to the government, in 1871, by MR. J. A. LARNED, the excellent superintendent of the Public Library at Buffalo, from which the following is an extract:

“Here, then, are about four and a quarter millions of people, not only living in the utmost nearness of neighborhood to us, but with such interjections of territory, and such an interlacing of natural communications and connections between their country and ours, that the geographical unity of the two is a more conspicuous fact than their political separation. Their numbers exceed by more than half a million the people of the six New England States, and about equal the number in the great State of New York. In the magnitude and value of the industrial and commercial interchanges that are carried on between the New England States and the other parts of this Union, we may find no unfair measure of the kindred commerce that would have existed, under natural circumstances, between those people and ourselves. Such equal conditions, indeed, would undoubtedly have given to the provinces in question a weight in the commerce of the North America continent considerably exceeding the present weight of the New England States. The average capabilities of their soil and climate are not inferior to the capabilities of the six States with which I compare them, while their general resources are greater and more varied. Ontario possesses a fertility with which no part of New England can at all compare, and that peninsular section of it around which the circle of the great lakes is swept, forces itself upon the notice of any student of the American map as one of the favored spots of the whole continent—as one of the appointed hiving places of industry, where population ought to breed with almost Belgian fecundity. A large section of Quebec is at least equal, in soil and climate, to its New England neighbors, while it rivals them in the possession of water power, which is furnished by every stream, and while it commands easier and cheaper access to the markets of the western interior. As for the Maritime Provinces, their possession of abundant coal gives them one of the prime advantages of industry over the contiguous States. Along with this parity, to say the least, in all that is essential to a vigorous development, the provinces forming the Dominion—even if we exclude that vast seat of future empire in the basin of Lake Winnipeg, which lies waiting for civilization to reach it—occupy a territorial area within which the population of New England or New York might be several times multiplied without increase of density.”

These expressions and numerous others that could be quoted go to show that a territory of most inviting character lies awaiting settlement by Americans, and those who come through the United States, who, if they had

a better market in this country for their products, would find opportunities for a fortune and a future that nowhere else on the continent has superior advantages. If the trade between the two countries could be without let or hindrance, and all the advantages to the United States be secured by as free access, and as free interchange, as if Canada was part and parcel of the Union, why should not these advantages be secured by such legislation as would obliterate for ever the dividing line that, commercially, now exists between them.

Your patience and your kindness have been taxed by the great length of this address, in which I have endeavored to impress you with the position of Canada, her great natural advantages, and the opportunities which these present to the United States. There are many details which it is important should be discussed, and there are many difficulties in the way of so great a consummation, the possibility of which has been presented to you. But these details and these difficulties may well be left for future discussion. The amount of revenue which the United States Treasury collects on the imports from Canada is less than five and a half millions of dollars. In view of the enormous surplus which now burdens the general government, and threatens to seriously embarrass the commercial public, the stoppage of this source of revenue would be regarded as a positive advantage by many, and would cause no serious disturbance in existing conditions of taxation. It may well be doubted whether in the whole range of fiscal votes by Congress, past, present, or future, more could be accomplished for the benefit of the United States than could be achieved by a vote which should forever obliterate the collection of this five and a half millions from goods imported from Canada. Enough has already been said to make this clear. But in Canada a condition precisely opposite exists, and here difficulties of a really serious nature appear: first, because the revenue interfered with by free admission of American goods bears a much larger proportion to the whole amount collected; and second, because the free admission of American goods would certainly seriously supplant foreign goods, on which the remainder of the customs duties are levied. By some mutual arrangement, however, such as pooling the customs and internal revenue receipts by both countries, and distributing them in proportion to population, the difficulties now apparent may be surmounted. The question would need to be approached, especially on the part of the United States, with liberality, as it doubtless would be. Perhaps the most serious difficulty to be apprehended would be the regulation of the tariff on imports, and fixing the scale of internal revenue taxation. This serious question is one which needs the most ample discussion and the fairest consideration. To many the right of the United States Congress to regulate the tariff for the whole continent under a commercial union is a foregone conclusion, and to yield this point makes the achievement of such a union much more practicable and possible, from a United States point of view. To Canadians the proposition to part with the power to regulate their tariff is an objection which it is difficult to meet. This is especially so in view of the necessities of revenue arising out

of the growth of the public debt of the Dominion compared with the steady reduction in the public debt of the United States. The United States tariff is still, however, higher than that of Canada by an average perhaps of ten per cent., and if it should be agreed to pool receipts from both countries, and divide in proportion to population, Canada would be as well off in revenue as she now is; and in view of the relatively small proportion to which she would be entitled (comparing 5 millions to 60 millions of people) she might well afford to take her chances as to the future effects of tariff legislation with such States as Michigan, Ohio, New-York, and Vermont, having conditions in climate, product, and pursuit of such similarity. It may be possible to convince Canadians that they can afford to take such a chance, in view of the great advantages that would flow to them from an open market among sixty millions of people, and the possibilities growing out of the development of their country, and it may be that some mode may be discovered whereby the difficulty may be obviated. Surely the resources of civilization in the management of affairs will afford some plan by which difficulties of this nature and kindred character can be adjusted, once a union between the two countries has been agreed upon, involving mutual independence and mutual interchange on an equitable basis.

A thousand years ago, Peter the Hermit preached the Crusades, and aroused Europe to sacrifices involving millions of money and tens of thousands of lives. The motive that inspired these costly contributions was the supposed influences of holy shrines, and the possible hope of conquest. Since that day great wars have been carried forward at enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; and to day the people of Europe, even in time of peace, are taxed and harassed to a great extent, either to prevent or to achieve conquest. To sum up all that has ever been accomplished by these great struggles, and their continued costliness, amounts to less in good to mankind than can be achieved on this continent by a single act of legislation—a simple act that will unite in terms of perfect amity and commercial freedom two great regions hitherto divided; two great people hitherto estranged for want of a common interest. Thus, by conquest of good-will, the union of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations of North America can be achieved, while permitting the political independence of each, a community of interest and great mutual advantage will illustrate in the highest form ever yet illustrated the sentiment that “Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war!”

